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SOME FEATURES OF GANDA LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE, PART 2.

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THIS PAPER PRESENTS THE SECOND PART OF A THREE-PART ARTICLE ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE OF GANDA. THE SPECIFIC CONCERNS OF THIS PART ARE (1) THE TONOMORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES AND (2) BASIC SETS OF ABSOLUTE AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS. TONAL DECLENSIONS OF NOUNS AND PRONOUNS ARE PRESENTED ACCORDING TO CLASS, REPRESENTING THOSE FEATURES OF NOUNS AND PRONOUNS WHICH OCCUR MAINLY AT THE WORD AND TWO-WORD PHRASE LEVEL. OTHER PARTS OF THIS STUDY ARE ED 003 937 AND ED 003 939. (GD)

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SOME FEATURES OF GANDA LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE, PART 2

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Part Two*

Chapter 3

TONOMORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

3.1.0. INTRODUCTION.

3.1.1. In terms of substrate morphology, adjectives have essentially the same structures as nouns, with some differences only in certain prefixal allomorphs. While very little detailed examination has been made of adjectival tonomorphology, the present indications are that this conforms essentially to the patterns of nominal tonomorphology. Nouns and adjectives are therefore treated together in this chapter, though nouns are cited in the vast majority of examples.

3.1.2. Some brief notes on the tonomorphology of pronouns and non-adjectival qualificatives are included in Chapters 4 and 5. These reveal some resemblances to the system of patterns and substitutions set out here, but while they may well be found ultimately to conform to the same general system, it is not possible to include them at the present stage of analysis. An even more remote possibility is that the tonomorphology of the verb conjugation also conforms to this system—in which case the tonal structures of all form classes could be subsumed under a single comprehensive system.

3.1.3. The conclusions presented in this chapter are very tentative and incomplete.[1] They represent features of the tonomorphology of nouns and adjectives mainly at the word and two-word phrase level, and even at this level many possible sequences remain to be studied. Nouns of Cl. 1a and 2a, and of the locative classes 16, 17, 18, 23, have not been taken into account at all, though it seems probable that they conform to the same general system. It also remains to be determined how the patterns of tonal substitution presented here are affected by the occurrence of nouns and adjectives in longer syntactic sequences, e.g. phrases involving more than one pronoun and/or qualificative, clauses and sentences. Finally, the substitution patterns have been tested with only a few "type nouns" in each tonal class and sub-class, and much more extensive testing is required to confirm the validity of the sets of "tonal declensions".

3.1.4. The tonomorphological classification of nouns and adjectives is based on the citation forms, i.e. the forms occurring when cited in isolation, without Initial Vowel.

* Part one appeared in Volume 24, No. 1. Part three will appear in vol. 24, 3-4, 1965.

[1] It had been my intention to rewrite this chapter in the light of the Concluding Note, 3.7.1, but other commitments have prevented this.

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These citation forms, which also function as the simplest type of Pseudoverb, expressing "He/She/It is . . . ", "They are . . . ", afford the bases for the widest range of prediction of declensional substitutions. Only one sub-group of forms (see 3.3.7) appears to be aberrant.[2] Four main Tonal Classes (TC) of nouns and adjectives, labelled A, B, C, D, are established here, each of these having sub-divisions of various types. There can be little doubt that examination of a larger corpus would reveal the existence of additional classes, series or groups (see 3.1.6 and 3.6.1f).[3] It is noteworthy that positive verb infinitives (nouns of Cl. 15) occur only in Tone Classes A and B, while negative infinitives (nouns of Cl. 14) appear to be restricted to Tone Class B.

3.1.5. In Tone Classes A, B and C there is a distinction in sub-classes between forms with Short Initial Syllable (SIS) and those with Long Initial Syllable (LIS); in Tone Class D there occur only forms with short initial syllable consisting of a syllabic consonant (Ç), while Tone Class C includes only forms with initial syllables other than Ç, i.e. consisting of CV (short), or CVV and CVC (long). In Tone Classes A and B all types of initial syllable structure occur, but it proves convenient to list separately those with initial Ç. As will be seen later, there are certain tonomorphological correlations between Tone Classes C and B, D and B, D and C. Indeed, there is evidence of derivational correlations between all of the tonal classes: for example, nouns and adjectives derived from verbal bases in Tone Class A may occur in Tone Classes A, B, or C, thus:

mùsómí (reader, scholar, student), 1, TC A
cf. **kùsómá** (to read), 15, TC A
'ssóméló (school), 5, TC A
cf. **kùsómélá** (to read in or at), 15, TC A
mùsíkâ (heir), 1, TC B
cf. **kùsíká** (to inherit), TC A
kìzĭmbè (building), 7, TC B
cf. **kùzĭmbá** (to build), 15, TC A
mùsìbê (prisoner), 1, TC C
cf. **kùsíbá** (to tie up), 15, TC A
mùsòmésà (teacher), 1, TC C
cf. **kùsómésá** (to teach), 15, TC A

Here again is a subject for further study: the derivational correlations between tonal forms in different tonal classes, series and groups, and the extent to which these may be further correlated with substrate morphemes, e.g. nominal suffixes. Thus, in the examples above and similar derivative nouns, the suffixes /**-i**/ and /**-o**/ appear to be associated with Tone Class A, whereas other vowel suffixes, /**-e**, **-a**, **-u**/, appear to be associated with Tone Classes B and C.

3.1.6. The system of Tone Classes is three-dimensional, represented as a set of triangles which is most clearly manifest in Tone Class B (see 3.3.1). Most of the Tone Classes are divided into Series characterized by a particular type of terminal sequence; and there is a further sub-division into Groups according to the number of syllables. Proceeding from left to right in the paradigms, the groups represent forms with two, three, four and five syllables; and in groups with more than two syllables, it proves convenient to distinguish

[2] The same aberrant sub-group appears in the tonal forms occurring in subjectival position, which could provide the predictive bases for Tone Classes A, B and D, but not for Tone Class C.
[3] Our present corpus includes some 1,500 items, excluding nouns of Cl. 1a, 16, 17, 18, 23.

between those with short second syllable and long second syllable. These groups are labelled as follows:

(*a*) Two syllables
(*b*) Three syllables, second syllable short
(*c*) Three syllables, second syllable long
(*d*) Four syllables, second syllable short
(*e*) Four syllables, second syllable long
(*f*) Five syllables, second syllable short
(*g*) Five syllables, second syllable long

Our present corpus includes only items up to five syllables in length, but analysis of a larger corpus would no doubt require further lateral extension of the groups to the right, e.g. (*h*), (*i*), (*j*), (*k*), etc., each successive pair of groups being twice as large as the preceding pair. Thus Groups (*h*), (*i*), with six syllables, would have eight forms each, and Groups (*j*), (*k*), with seven syllables, would have sixteen forms each.

3.1.7. Recapitulating this classification and its designations, we have:

Tone Classes A, B, C, D,
each of which may be divided into
Sub-classes SIS, LIS,
with further possible sub-divisions into
Series 1.0, 2.0, 3.1, 3.2, etc.,
each containing
Groups (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), etc.

Within the groups, the tonal forms are represented symbolically by sequences composed of L, L̲, H, H̲, F, F̲. Short syllables are represented by L (Low), H (High), F (High-Low), long syllables by L̲ (Low-Low), H̲ (High-High), F̲ (High-Low). The symbol F is used to represent a High-Low tonal sequence accommodated within a single syllable in order to avoid confusion with a High + Low sequence in successive syllables. Short F occurs only finally, long F̲ only initially or medially.

3.2.0. TONE CLASS A.

3.2.1. Tone Class A is characterized by having the first syllable low, whether short or long, and all other syllables high. There are two sub-classes, SIS and LIS, each containing only one series of groups, as set out below. This is a large class, with positive verb infinitives (nouns of Cl. 15) occurring in all groups. Asterisks mark tonomorphs not represented in our corpus.

Tone Class A, Short Initial Syllable

(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)	(*g*)
LH	LHH	LH̲H	LHHH	LH̲HH	LHHHH	LH̲HHH
			LHH̲H	LH̲H̲H	*LHHH̲H	*LH̲HH̲H
					LHH̲HH	LH̲H̲HH
					*LHH̲H̲H	*LH̲H̲H̲H

Tone Class A, Long Initial Syllable

(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)	(*g*)
L̲H	L̲HH	L̲H̲H	L̲HHH	*L̲H̲HH	*L̲HHHH	*L̲H̲HHH
			*L̲HH̲H	*L̲H̲H̲H	*L̲HHH̲H	*L̲H̲HH̲H
					*L̲HH̲HH	*L̲H̲H̲HH
					*L̲HH̲H̲H	*L̲H̲H̲H̲H

3.2.2. *Examples of nouns of Tone Class A.*

(1) Sub-class SIS, Group (*a*):

mùgó	(rim of a pot, etc.), 3
mùmwá	(lip, beak), 3
màtá	(milk), 6
kìbyá	(bowl), 7
kìdé	(bell), 7
lùnwé	(index finger), 11
kàmwá	(mouth), 12
bùyá	(game pit), 14
kùmwá	(to shave), 15
kùsá	(to grind), 15
ˈbbwá	(sore, ulcer, wound), 5
ˈggyá	(adze for making dug-out), 5
ˈttú	(small package or parcel), 5
ˈngó	(leopard), 9
ˈnsó	(knee-cap, patella), 9
ˈnté	(head of cattle), 9
ˈŋŋó	(banana bud), 9
ˈnvá	(relish), 10

(2) Sub-class SIS, Group (*b*):

mùlímí	(agriculturalist, tiller, farmer), 1
mùsómí	(reader, scholar, student), 1
mùdúmú	(pitcher, jug), 3
kìmúlí	(flower), 7
kìtábó	(book), 7
lùgálo	(finger), 11
kàkúlwé	(tadpole), 12
bùgényí	(hospitality), 14
kùgúlú	(leg), 15
kùbálá	(to count), 15
ˈbbégá	(back), 5
ˈggígí	(curtain, screen), 5
ˈggúlú	(sky, heavens), 5
ˈssázá	(district, county), 5
ˈttáká	(soil, ground, earth), 5
ˈndígá	(sheep), 9
ˈnjálá	(hunger), 9
ˈnjóvú	(elephant), 9
ˈnnyámá	(meat), 9
ˈnnyónyí	(bird), 9

(3) Sub-class SIS, Group (*c*):

mùbãzzí	(carpenter, woodworker), 1
mùlẽnzí	(boy), 1
mùkéékà	(palm-leaf mat), 3
mùlyãngó	(doorway), 3
kìsẽngé	(room, wall), 7

kìtóóké (plantain tree), 7
lùgẽndó (journey, voyage, march), 11
lùtãmbí (lamp wick), 11
kàtũndá (granadilla), 12
kùfũmbá (to cook, boil), 15

'bbáátí (iron roofing sheet), 5
'ddũngú (wilderness, desert), 5
'ffũmbé (civet cat), 5
'jjĩnjá (stone), 5
'ttóóké (plantain, cooking banana), 5
'mbáátá (duck), 9
'nfúúfú (dust), 9
'ngãttó (shoe), 9
'nnyõndó (hammer), 9
'ntũggá (giraffe), 9

(4) Sub-class SIS, Group (*d*):

mùlámúzí (judge, arbitrator), 1
mùzígítí (mosque), 3
kìlágíló (command, instruction, direction), 7
lùjégélé (chain), 11
lùlágálá (green banana leaf), 11
lùnyílílí (row, line), 11
lùpápúlá (piece of paper), 11
kùsásúlá (to pay), 15

'ddágálá (medicine, herb), 5
'ggwáníká (store-room, treasury), 5
'ssóméló (school), 5
'njógélá (speech, way of speaking), 9
'nnímíló (cultivated field), 9
'nsówélá (fly), 9
'ntúlégé (zebra), 9

mùtábáází (warrior), 1
kìbílíítí (match, match-box), 7
kìpápãjjó (branch broken off from a tree), 7
lùbílíízí (rib), 11
kùsólóózá (to collect money, e.g. tax), 15

'ndágáánó (agreement, promise), 9
'mbílíízí (ribs), 10

(5) Sub-class SIS, Group (*e*):

mùfũmbíló (cook, chef), 1
mùlãmbúzí (inspector), 1
mùlãngílá (prince), 1
mùsúúbúzí (trader, merchant), 1
mùlãndílá (root), 3
màkũngúlá (harvest), 6
kàsãmbúlá (June dry season), 12
kùsõngólá (to sharpen to a point), 15

ˈggwóólézó	(customs house), 5
mùlõngóótí	(flagstaff, mast), 3
kìjãnjáálò	(bean), 7
kùwãndííká	(to write), 15

(6) Sub-class SIS, Group (*f*):

kìsánílízó	(comb), 7
kìsúmúlúzó	(key), 7
kàwólógómá	(small lion, cub), 12
kùsúmúlúlá	(to untie, unlock), 15
ˈmpólógómá	(lion), 9
ˈntábágáná	(co-operation), 9
kùsísĩnkáná	(to meet, come upon), 15

(7) Sub-class SIS, Group (*g*):

kìlãngílílò	(decree, order), 7
kùwóómélélá	(to be sweet to the taste), 15
màsãŋŋãnzílá	(cross-roads), 6

(8) Sub-class LIS, Group (*a*):

mũntú	(person), 1
mwẽzí	(sweeper), 1
mwẽngé	(beer), 3
kyãlò	(village, hamlet), 7
lũggí	(door), 11
lwẽndó	(gourd scoop, ladle), 11
lwẽyó	(broom, brush), 11
kãmbé	(curved Ganda knife), 12
kũjjá	(to come), 15
kwẽlá	(to sweep), 15

(9) Sub-class LIS, Group (*b*):

mũggází	(doorkeeper, gatekeeper), 1
mwõgézí	(speaker, talker), 1
kyãmbálò	(garment, item of clothing), 7
kyẽséló	(watering place for cattle), 7
kũggálá	(to shut or close), 15
kwãgálá	(to love, like, want), 15

(10) Sub-class LIS, Group (*c*):

mùmbẽjjá	(princess), 1
mùmmõndé	(sweet potato), 3
kwẽnjéélá	(to stagger), 15

(11) Sub-class LIS, Group (*d*):

kĩjjúkízó	(memorial), 7
kwãnílízá	(to welcome, invite), 15
kũjjúkílá	(to remember), 15

3.2.3. *Tonal Declension of Tone Class A.*

In addition to the set of basic tonomorphs tabulated in 3.2.1, there are three other sets involving tonal substitutions.[4] The distribution of the four sets, according as they occur without or with Initial Vowel, is described below.

(1) The set of basic tonomorphs as tabulated in 3.2.1 occurs as follows:

(*a*) Without IV:

In Citation and as Pseudoverb
As Object after a negative verb[5]
In Possessive Pseudoverbs
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùlēnzí	(a boy; He/It is a boy)
lwēyó	(a broom; It is a broom)
Sílàbà mùlēnzí	(I do not see the boy)
Sílàbà lwēyó	(I do not see the broom)
ōlwēyò lwāmùlēnzí	(The broom is the boy's)
Lwāmùlēnzí	(It is the boy's)
lwēyó nàmùlēnzí	(the broom and the boy)
mùlēnzí nàlwēyó	(the boy and the broom)

(*b*) With IV:

After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /**n ′-**/ (and, with)
These prefixes are high-toned, and raise the IV to H, while the initial syllable of the noun remains L or L. The initial tonal sequence in these constructions is therefore HL or HL. However, with nouns of Cl. 5, 9, 10, which have a syllabic consonant as prefix, the initial high-low sequence is manifest as F on the first syllable.

Examples:

ōlwēyó lwōmùlēnzí	(the broom of the boy)
ōlwēyó lwōmwēzí	(the broom of the sweeper)
ōmwēzí nóólwēyó	(the sweeper and the broom)
ōmwēzí nóómùlēnzí	(the sweeper and the boy)
ōkúgúlú kwêffűmbé	(the leg of the civet)
ōkúgúlú kwêmpólógómá	(the leg of the lion)
ējjīnjá nêttáká	(the stone and the soil)
ēffűmbé nêmpólógómá	(the civet and the lion)

(2) The second set of tonomorphs has all syllables high, e.g.

SIS: HH, HHH, HHH, HHHH, etc.
LIS: HH, HHH, HHH, HHHH, etc.

Distribution:

(*a*) Without IV:

After Possessive Prefix (2)

Examples:

Lwēyó lwāmwēzí	(It is the broom of the sweeper)
Lwēyó lwāmúlēnzí	(It is the broom of the boy)

[4] At the present stage of analysis it is uncertain whether these alternant sets of tonal forms are allomorphic or morphemic in status. We therefore designate them simply as "tonomorphs".

[5] Except, apparently, the Far Future Tense, negative, which is followed by the second set of tonomorphs.

(*b*) With IV (low):

In Citation
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F[6]
Before Demonstratives
Before Adjectives
Before Impersonal Possessives
Before Prefix /**n** '-/ (and, with)

Examples:

ɔ̃múlɛ̃nzí	(a boy)
ɔ̃lwɛ̃yó	(a broom)
ɛ̃mpólógómá	(a lion)
ˈndábà ɔ̃múlɛ̃nzí	(I see a boy)
ˈndábà ɔ̃lwɛ̃yó	(I see a broom)
ˈndábà ɛ̃mpólógómá	(I see a lion)
ɔ̃múlɛ̃nzí ɔ̃nó	(this boy)
ɔ̃múlɛ̃nzí ɔ̃múwãnvù	(a tall boy)
ɔ̃kúgúlú kwɛ̂ndígá	(the leg of the sheep)
ɔ̃kúgúlú kwãyô	(its leg)
ɔ̃múlɛ̃nzí nóólwɛ̃yó	(the boy and the broom)

(*c*) With IV (high):

As Object after a positive verb with terminal H

Examples:

ˈnjágálá ɔ̃múlɛ̃nzí	(I like the boy)
ˈngúlá ɛ̃bítábó	(I am buying books)

(3) The third set of tonomorphs has all syllables low, e.g.

SIS: LL, LLL, L̰L, LLLL, etc.
LIS: L̰L, L̰LL, L̰L̰L, L̰LLL, etc.

These occur as follows, with IV:[7]

As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
Before an Absolute Pronoun

Examples:

ɔ̃mùlɛ̃nzì ãgɛ̃nzè	(The boy has gone)
ɔ̃mùlɛ̃nzì mùwãnvù	(The boy is tall)
ɛ̃bìtàbò byãmùlɛ̃nzí	(The books are the boy's)
ɛ̃bìtàbò byô	(the books themselves)
ɛ̃mpòlògòmà zô	(lions, as for them)

(4) The fourth set of tonomorphs occurs only when antecedent to personal possessives with the pronominal stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/ (see 5.5.6). Examples are cited only with /**-ngé**/ and /**-e**/; /**-o**/ can be substituted in all cases for /**-e**/, /**-ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/ for /**-ngé**/, with appropriate change of meaning. These tonomorphs are formed as follows:[8]

(*a*) Nouns of Sub-class SIS, Group (*a*) only, i.e. nouns with monosyllabic stems: First two syllables (IV and BP), or first syllable only in the case of Cl. 5, 9, 10

[6] The terminal tone of the verb is itself determined, at least partially, by the tone class of the noun object, but this relationship has not yet been studied in detail.
[7] Data not available for forms without IV.
[8] Data available only for antecedents with IV.

nouns with prefix Ç, low-toned; final (stem) syllable, H. Note that the final vowel in this group is doubled, though this is not represented in the Standard Orthography. Examples:

ǒmùmwā	**gwāngé**	/	**gwè**	(my/his lip)
ěkibyā	**kyāngé**	/	**kyè**	(my/his bowl)
ěkidē	**kyāngé**	/	**kyè**	(my/his bell)
ěggyā	**lyāngé**	/	**lyè**	(my/his adze)
ěntē	**zāngé**	/	**zè**	(my/his cattle)
ěnvā	**zāngé**	/	**zè**	(my/his relish)

(*b*) Nouns of all other groups:

First syllable (IV): L
Second syllable: L, if short
H, if long
Third syllable: H or H, after L
L or L, after H
Other syllables: L or L

Examples:

ěggigí	**lyāngé**	/	**lyè**	(my/his curtain)
ěndigá	**zāngé**	/	**zè**	(my/his sheep)
ěngàló	**zāngé**	/	**zè**	(my/his fingers)
ěnjèyó	**zāngé**	/	**zè**	(my/his brooms)
ěnzìgí	**zāngé**	/	**zè**	(my/his doors)
ǒmùdúmù	**gwāngé**	/	**gwé**	(my/his jug)
āmàgígì	**gāngé**	/	**gé**	(my/his curtains)
ǒlùgálò	**lwāngé**	/	**lwé**	(my/his finger)
ěssòmélò	**lyāngé**	/	**lyé**	(my/his school)
ěnjègélè	**zāngé**	/	**zé**	(my/his chains)
ěmpàpúlà	**zāngé**	/	**zé**	(my/his papers)
ǒlùgěndò	**lwāngé**	/	**lwé**	(my/his journey)
ěkisěngè	**kyāngé**	/	**kyé**	(my/his room)
āmàyīnjà	**gāngé**	/	**gé**	(my/his stones)
ěmbilíízì	**zāngé**	/	**zé**	(my/his ribs)
ěndàgáánò	**yāngé**	/	**yé**	(my/his promise)
āmàsómèlò	**gāngé**	/	**gé**	(my/his schools)
ǒlùpápùlà	**lwāngé**	/	**lwé**	(my/his paper)
ǒlùjégèlè	**lwāngé**	/	**lwé**	(my/his chain)
ǒlùbíliìzì	**lwāngé**	/	**lwé**	(my/his rib)
ǒmùfūmbilò	**wāngé**	/	**wé**	(my/his cook)
ěbijānjààlò	**byāngé**	/	**byé**	(my/his beans)
ěmpòlógòmà	**yāngé**	/	**yé**	(my/his lion)
ěntàbágànà	**yāngé**	/	**yé**	(my/his co-operation)
ěkìsúmùlùzò	**kyāngé**	/	**kyé**	(my/his key)
ākàwólògòmà	**kāngé**	/	**ké**	(my/his lion cub)
ěkilāngìlilò	**kyāngé**	/	**kyé**	(my/his decree)
ābāntù	**bāngé**	/	**bé**	(my/his people)
ǒmwēngè	**gwāngé**	/	**gwé**	(my/his beer)
ějjīnjà	**lyāngé**	/	**lyé**	(my/his stone)

ɔ̃lʉ̃ggì	**lwã̀ngé**	/	**lwé**	(my/his door)
ɔ̃lwɛ̃ndɔ̀	**lwã̀ngé**	/	**lwé**	(my/his scoop)
ɔ̃lwɛ̃yɔ̀	**lwã̀ngé**	/	**lwé**	(my/his broom)
ɛ̃nnyɛ̃ndɔ̀	**zã̀ngé**	/	**zé**	(my/his scoops)
ɛ̃ŋŋɛ̃ndɔ̀	**zã̀ngé**	/	**zé**	(my/his journeys)
ɛ̃kyã́mbàlɔ̀	**kyã̀ngé**	/	**kyé**	(my/his garment)
ɛ̃ggwóólèzɔ̀	**lyã̀ngé**	/	**lyé**	(my/his customs house)
ɔ̃kwã́gàlà	**kwã̀ngé**	/	**kwé**	(my/his loving)
ɔ̃mʉ́mbɛ̃jjà	**wã̀ngé**	/	**wé**	(my/his princess)
ɔ̃kʉ́jjùkìlà	**kwã̀ngé**	/	**kwé**	(my/his remembering)
ɔ̃kwã́nìlìzà	**kwã̀ngé**	/	**kwé**	(my/his welcoming)

3.3.0. TONE CLASS B.

3.3.1. This is the largest of the tone classes, with divisions into Sub-classes SIS and LIS, and into four Series, numbered 1.0, 2.0, 3.1 and 3.2, and 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3. There are no sub-divisions of Series 1.0 and 2.0, as indicated by the second digit zero. The three-dimensional triangular system is built up as follows:

(*a*) Within each series, reading laterally from left to right, the groups are extended *internally* by insertion of H or H̱ before the terminal sequence, e.g.
Series 1.0: LF, LHF, LHHF, LHHHF, etc.
Series 4.1: LF̱H, LHF̱H, LHHF̱H, etc.

(*b*) Along the hypotenuses, reading diagonally downward from left to right, the groups are extended *externally*, usually by addition of H, e.g.
Series 2.0, 3.1, 3.2: LHL, LHLH, LHLHH, etc.
Series 1.0, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3: LF, LF̱H, LF̱HH, LF̱HHH, etc.

The progression from Group 1.0 (*a*), LF, to Group 2.0 (*b*), LHL, is by syllabic extension of the HL sequence occurring in F.

The system is capable of further extension laterally and along the hypotenuses, the latter involving additional sub-series 3.3, 4.4, etc., and this would no doubt be necessitated by examination of a larger corpus. Asterisks in the tables mark tonomorphs not represented in our corpus.

Tone Class B, Short Initial Syllable.

	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)	(*g*)
1.0.	LF	LHF	L$\underline{H}$F	LHHF	L$\underline{H}$HF	LHHHF	*L$\underline{H}$HHF
				*LH$\underline{H}$F	*L$\underline{H}\underline{H}$F	LHH$\underline{H}$F	*L$\underline{H}$H$\underline{H}$F
						LH$\underline{H}$HF	*L$\underline{H}\underline{H}$HF
						*LH$\underline{H}\underline{H}$F	*L$\underline{H}\underline{H}\underline{H}$F
2.0.		LHL	L$\underline{H}$L	LHHL	L$\underline{H}$HL	LHHHL	L$\underline{H}$HHL
				LH$\underline{H}$L	*L$\underline{H}\underline{H}$L	*LHH$\underline{H}$L	*L$\underline{H}$H$\underline{H}$L
						*LH$\underline{H}$HL	*L$\underline{H}\underline{H}$HL
						*LH$\underline{H}\underline{H}$L	*L$\underline{H}\underline{H}\underline{H}$L
3 1.				LHLH	L$\underline{H}$LH	*LHHLH	*L$\underline{H}$HLH
				LH$\underline{L}$H	L$\underline{H}\underline{L}$H	*LHH$\underline{L}$H	*L$\underline{H}$H$\underline{L}$H
						*LH$\underline{H}$LH	L$\underline{H}\underline{H}$LH
						*LH$\underline{H}\underline{L}$H	*L$\underline{H}\underline{H}\underline{L}$H
3.2.						LHLHH	*L$\underline{H}$LHH
						*LHL$\underline{H}$H	L$\underline{H}$L$\underline{H}$H
						LH$\underline{L}$HH	*L$\underline{H}$H$\underline{L}$HH
						*LH$\underline{L}\underline{H}$H	*L$\underline{H}\underline{L}\underline{H}$H
4.1.		---	L$\underline{F}$H	----	----	-----	-----
				LH$\underline{F}$H	L$\underline{H}\underline{F}$H	*LHH$\underline{F}$H	L$\underline{H}$H$\underline{F}$H
						-----	-----
						*LH$\underline{H}\underline{F}$H	*L$\underline{H}\underline{H}\underline{F}$H
4.2.				----	L$\underline{F}$HH	-----	-----
				----	L$\underline{F}\underline{H}$H	-----	-----
						*LH$\underline{F}$HH	*L$\underline{H}\underline{F}$HH
						*LH$\underline{F}\underline{H}$H	*L$\underline{H}\underline{F}\underline{H}$H
4.3.						-----	L$\underline{F}$HHH
						-----	*L$\underline{F}$H$\underline{H}$H
						-----	L$\underline{F}\underline{H}$HH
						-----	L$\underline{F}\underline{H}\underline{H}$H

Tone Class B, Long Initial Syllable.

	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)	(*g*)
1.0.	H̲F	H̲HF	*H̲H̲F	*H̲HH̲F *H̲HH̲F	*H̲H̲HF *H̲H̲H̲F		
2.0.	H̲L	*H̲HL	*H̲H̲L	H̲HHL *H̲HH̲L	*H̲H̲HL *H̲H̲H̲L		
3.1.		H̲LH	H̲L̲H	*H̲HLH *H̲HL̲H	*H̲H̲LH *H̲H̲L̲H		
3.2.				H̲LHH *H̲LH̲H	H̲L̲HH *H̲L̲H̲H		
4.1.	F̲H	---	H̲F̲H	---- *H̲HF̲H	---- *H̲H̲F̲H		
4.2.		*F̲HH	*F̲H̲H	---- ----	*H̲F̲HH *H̲F̲H̲H		
4.3.				*F̲HHH *F̲HH̲H	*F̲H̲HH *F̲H̲H̲H		

3.3.2. In Sub-class SIS the initial syllable is always L, in Sub-class LIS it is always H.

Verb infinitives (nouns of Cl. 15) occur only in the groups along the hypotenuses in Sub-class SIS, i.e. in Groups 1.0 (*a*), 2.0 (*b*), 3.1 (*d*), 3.2 (*f*), 4.1 (*c*), 4.2 (*e*), 4.3 (*g*). In Sub-class LIS, however, the distribution of infinitives is less consistent, and they occur in Groups 4.1 (*a*), 3.1 (*b*) and (*c*), 3.2 (*d*) and (*e*). The tonal declensions follow the same pattern within each series, but differ from series to series. We therefore treat each series separately below.

3.3.3. *Tone Class B, Series* 1.0.

This series is characterized by terminal F, preceded, except in Group (*a*), by H or H̲. Examples:

(1) Sub-class SIS, Group (*a*):

mùtwê	(head), 3
màlwâ	(millet beer), 6
kìbê	(jackal), 7
kìnû	(mortar), 7
kìtâ	(gourd, calabash, for beer), 7
lùkû	(piece of firewood), 11
tùlô	(sleep), 13
bùtwâ	(poison), 14
kùtû	(ear), 15
kùfâ	(to die), 15

'ggî	(egg), 5
'ggyê	(army), 5
'vvû	(ashes), 5
'mbwâ	(dog), 9
'njû	(house), 9
'nkwâ	(cattle tick), 9
'nkyâ	(morning), 9
'nsî	(land, country, world), 9
'nswâ	(flying ant, termite), 9

(2) Sub-class SIS, Group (*b*):

mùgóbâ	(navigator, driver, pilot), 1
mùsíkâ	(heir, inheritor), 1
mùlámwâ	(kernel), 3
màgóbâ	(profit), 6
kìlókwâ	(weed, self-sown seedling), 7
lùgóbâ	(forward line in football), 11
kàkódyô	(roguery, deceitfulness, trick), 12
kàsólyâ	(roof), 12
'mpísô	(needle), 9

(3) Sub-class SIS, Group (*c*):

mùLúúlû	(Luo national), 1
mùwúúlû	(bachelor, widower), 1
mùcűngwâ	(orange tree or fruit), 3
mùyááyû	(wildcat), 3
kìbíínâ	(society, class, group), 7
kìgóógwâ	(sisal plant, *Agave*), 7
lùnyááfâ	(small crack or crevice), 11
lùsáálû	(swamp), 11
kàgóógwâ	(sisal fibre), 12
kàzíínâ	(old tattered cloth), 12
'ddáálâ	(step, ladder), 5
'ggűggwê	(human lung), 5
'ssűnsâ	(pumpkin leaves, as food), 5
'ttéékâ	(law, regulation, rule), 5
'vvíívî	(knee), 5
'ɱbéélâ	(state, condition), 9
'ɱpéélâ	(salary, tip, remuneration), 9
'nsűjjû	(pumpkin), 9
'nvűnzâ	(jigger flea), 9
'ŋŋááŋâ	(sp. of hornbill bird), 9

(4) Sub-class SIS, Group (*d*):

mùvúbúkâ	(youth, young man), 1
mùgógólô	(problem, difficulty), 3
bìsésémyê	(vomit), 8
lùkókóbê	(sp. of animal, unidentified), 11
lùkómélâ	(fence, hedge, barricade), 11

ˈkkómélâ	(prison), 5
ˈnkókóbê	(pl. of **lùkókóbê**), 10
ˈnjátíkâ	(cracks, crevices), 10

(5) Sub-class SIS, Group (*e*):

mùtãmbúzê	(traveller, pilgrim), 1
mùsĩttálê	(ruled line), 3
kìwúúgúlû	(owl), 7
kàtőnnyézê	(point, dot), 12
ˈntűntúnû	(gooseberry, *Physalis* sp.), 9

(6) Sub-class SIS, Group (*f*):

lùkólóbózê	(marked line), 11
mùkúlẽmbézê	(leader), 1
ˈndábílwãmû	(mirror), 9

(7) Sub-class LIS, Group (*a*):

kyãngwê	(loofah for bathing), 7

(8) Sub-class LIS, Group (*b*):

kyẽngélâ	(season of plenty), 7
lwãtíkâ	(crack, crevice), 11

3.3.4. *Tonal Declension of Series* 1.0.
Three additional sets of tonomorphs occur besides those tabulated in 3.3.1.

(1) The set of basic tonomorphs tabulated in 3.3.1 occurs:

(*a*) Without IV:
In Citation and as Pseudoverb
As Object after a negative verb
In Possessive Pseudoverbs
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

kìbê	(jackal; It is a jackal)
lwãtíkâ	(crevice; It is a crevice)
Sílàbà mùyááyû	(I do not see the wildcat)
Sílàbà kyãngwê	(I do not see the loofah)
ẽmbwâ yààmùgóbâ	(The dog is the driver's)
ˈmbwâ nàmùgóbâ	(the dog and the driver)
mùgóbâ nãmbwâ	(the driver and the dog)

(*b*) With IV (low):
In Citation
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Before Absolute Pronouns
Before Demonstratives
Before Adjectives
Before Prefix /**n ′-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ẽggî (egg)	**ǒmùcúngwâ** (orange)
ǒmùgóbâ ãgẽnzè	(The driver has gone)
ǒmùgóbâ mùwãnvù	(The driver is tall)
ˈmpítà ǒmùgóbâ	(I am calling the driver)
ẽmbwâ yô	(the dog itself)
ẽmbwâ ẽnó	(this dog)
ẽmbwâ ẽnkãmbwé	(a fierce dog)
ǒmùgóbâ nẽmbwâ	(the driver and the dog)

(2) The second set of tonomorphs has the initial syllable high in Sub-class SIS, e.g. HF, HHF, HḦF, HHHF, etc. Distribution:

(*a*) Without IV:
After Possessive Prefix (2)

Examples:

ˈmbwá yáámúgóbâ	(It is the dog of the driver)
kìtá kyãmútãmbúzê	(It is the gourd of the traveller)

(*b*) With IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H
After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /n ʼ-/ (and, with)

Examples:

ˈmbálá ãmágî	(I am counting the eggs)
ãmàgí géékíwúúgúlû	(the eggs of an owl)
ẽmbwá yóómúgóbâ	(the dog of the driver)
ẽmbwâ nóómúgóbâ	(the dog and the driver)
ǒmùgóbâ nẽmbwâ	(the driver and the dog)

(3) The third set of tonomorphs has the final syllable high in all groups, e.g.
SIS: LH, LḪH, LḦH, LHHH, etc.
LIS: ḦH, ḦHH.
Distribution:
Before Impersonal Possessives

Examples:

ẽmbwá yóómúgóbâ	(the dog of the driver)
ǒmùtwé gwẽkíwúúgúlû	(the head of the owl)
ẽvvííví lyǒmúvúbúkâ	(the knee of the youth)
ǒmùkúlẽmbézé wáábãntú	(the leader of the people)
ẽkyãngwé kyǒmúwúúlû	(the loofah of the bachelor)

(4) The fourth set of tonomorphs has the final syllable high and long in all groups, e.g.
SIS: LḦ, LHḦ, LḦḦ, LHHḦ, etc.
LIS: ḦḦ, ḦHḦ.
This doubling of the final vowel is not represented in the Standard Orthography.
Distribution:
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/

Examples:

ōmùtwē gwāngé	**/ gwè**	(my/his head)
ēmbwā yāngé	**/ yè**	(my/his dog)
āmàvíívī gāngé	**/ gè**	(my/his knees)

3.3.5. *Tone Class B, Series* 2.0.

This series is characterized by the terminal sequence HL or ĦL. There is a tono-morphological relationship between Sub-class SIS, Groups (*d*), (*e*), and Tone Class D, Series 2.0, Groups (*d*), (*e*), for which see 3.5.6. Examples of Series 2.0:

(1) Sub-class SIS, Group (*b*):

mùkázì	(woman, wife), 1
mùsáwò	(doctor), 1
mùkónò	(arm, hand), 3
mùzígò	(fat, butter), 3
kìkópò	(cup, mug), 7
lùgóyè	(cloth, garment), 11
lùlímì	(tongue, language), 11
kàtálè	(market), 12
bùlágò	(throat, neck), 14
kùlábà	(to see), 15
'ffúmù	(spear, lance), 5
'kkúbò	(road, path, way), 5
'ttábì	(branch of a tree), 5
'mbúzì	(goat), 9
'mpísì	(spotted hyena), 9
'nfúdù	(tortoise), 9
'nkókò	(chicken), 9
'nnyánà	(calf—animal), 9
'ntébè	(chair, stool), 9
'nsónyì	(shyness, shame), 10

(2) Sub-class SIS, Group (*c*):[9]

mùgēngè	(leper), 1
mùkūngù	(head chief), 1
mùlūndà	(herdsman), 1
mùyōnjò	(chicken basket), 3
kìkōndè	(fist), 7
kìsīmbè	(cultivated plant), 7
kìzīmbè	(building), 7
kìzīngà	(island), 7
lùwāndè	(measure of cloth), 11
kàtīmbà	(net), 12
'ggūmbà	(bone), 5
'ggwāngà	(nation, tribe), 5
'ppéésà	(button), 5
'ssúúbì	(hope), 5
'ttūmbì	(midnight), 5
'mmāmbyà	(dawn), 9

[9] See 3.3.7.

ˈmméézà	(table), 9
ˈnnyãnjà	(lake), 9
ˈnnyűmbà	(house), 9
ˈnsĩmbì	(cowry shell, money), 9

(3) Sub-class SIS, Group (*d*):

mùWálábù	(Arab), 1
màbákúlì	(basins, bowls), 6[10]
màbálúwà	(letters), 6[10]
màbíníkà	(kettles), 6[10]
màgúníyà	(sacks, bags), 6[10]
màkálíyà	(carriers, trailers), 6[10]
màkánísà	(churches), 6[10]
lùbálázà	(verandah), 11[10]
lùWálábù	(Arabic language), 11
kàlégéyà	(small or young weaver bird), 12[10]
mùpúlíísì	(policeman), 1

(4) Sub-class SIS, Group (*e*):

mùNyãnkólè	(Nyankole national), 1
mùSwãyílì	(Swahili national), 1
mùsáálábà	(cross), 3
kìwőjjólò	(butterfly, moth), 7
lùSwãyílì	(Swahili language), 11
lùNyãnkólè	(Nyankole language), 11
kàkẽngélè	(small bicycle bell), 12[10]
ˈggőngólò	(millipede), 5

(5) Sub-class SIS, Group (*f*):

mùsélíkálè	(soldier), 1

(6) Sub-class SIS, Group (*g*):

mùwĩnnámútì	(sp. of shrub), 3
kìsííkílízè	(shadow, shade), 7

(7) Sub-class LIS, Group (*a*):

műjjwà	(man's sister's child), 1
mwãmì	(chief, Mr), 1
mwãvù	(poor person), 1
műddò	(grass, weeds), 3
műttò	(pillow, cushion), 3
kĩvvè	(abominable act, taboo, incest), 7
lűddà	(direction, way, whereabouts), 11
lúúyì	(side, direction), 11
bwãvù	(poverty), 14
bwőgì	(sharpness), 14

(8) Sub-class LIS, Group (*d*):

műNgélézà	(Englishman), 1
lűndélébù	(malicious gossip), 11
lűNgélézà	(English language), 11

[10] See 3.5.6.

3.3.6. *Tonal Declension of Series* 2.0.
Two additional sets of tonomorphs occur besides those tabulated in 3.3.1.

(1) The set of basic tonomorphs tabulated in 3.3.1 occurs:

(*a*) Without IV:
In Citation and as Pseudoverb
As Object after a Negative verb
In Possessive Pseudoverbs
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùsáwò	(doctor; He/It is a doctor)
mű̀ttò	(pillow; It is a pillow)
Sílábyê mùsáwò	(I have not seen the doctor)
Sílábyê mű̀ttò	(I have not seen the pillow)
ǒmű̀ttò gwǎ̀mùsáwò	(The pillow is the doctor's)
ˈnfúdù nǎ̀ggőngólò	(the tortoise and the millipede)
mùpúlíísì nàmùsélíkálè	(the policeman and the soldier)

(*b*) With IV (low):
In Citation
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Before Absolute Pronouns
Before Demonstratives
Before Adjectives
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/
Before Prefix /**n ʼ-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ǒmùsáwò	(doctor)
ǒmű̀ttò	(pillow, cushion)
ǒmùkázì ǎfűmbá	(The woman is cooking)
ˈmpísè ǒmùsáwò	(I have called the doctor)
ɛ̌mpísì zô	(hyenas, as for them)
ɛ̌ffúmù lìnó	(this spear)
ǎmàfúmù ǎmàwǎ̀nvù	(long spears)
ǒmùyőnjò gwǎ̀ngé	(my chicken basket)
ɛ̌mbúzì zààbwé	(their goats)
ɛ̌mméézà nɛ̌ntébè	(the table and the chair(s))
ǒmùsáwò nóómúgɛ̌ngè	(the doctor and the leper)

(2) The second set of tonomorphs has the initial syllable high in Sub-class SIS, e.g. HHL, HH̱L, HHHL, etc.

Distribution:
(*a*) Without IV:
After Possessive Prefix (2)

Examples:

ˈffúmú lyǎ̀músáwò	(It is the spear of the doctor)
kìkópó kyǎ̀múkázì	(It is the cup of the woman)

(*b*) With IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H
After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /**n** ′**-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

'ngúlá ŏmúzígò	(I am buying butter)
ĕbìkópó byŏmúkázì	(the cups of the woman)
ŏmùkázì néébíkópò	(the woman and the cups)

(3) The third set of tonomorphs has the final syllable high in all groups, e.g.
SIS: LHH, LH̲H, LHHH, etc.
LIS: H̲H, H̲HHH.

Distribution:
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-o, -e**/[11]
Before Impersonal Possessives

Examples:

ĕbìkópó byô	(your sg. cups)
ĕffúmú lyê	(his spear)
ŏmŭttó gwŏmúkázì	(the pillow of the woman)

3.3.7. A few forms have been noted which have their citation (basic) tonomorphs in Sub-class SIS, Group (*c*), but whose tonal declension is aberrant. These are:

Mùgăndà	(Ganda national), 1
Lùgăndà	(Ganda language), 11
mùlŭngì	(good, nice, beautiful—Adj., Cl. 1)

There may be yet others among the nouns listed in 3.3.5 (2) which belong to this aberrant sub-group, as they have not all been adequately tested. In declension these forms behave partly like Series 2.0, partly like Series 4.1, Group (*c*). For listing and lexicographical purposes it would no doubt be necessary to cite two tonomorphs for these forms, i.e. LH̲L and LF̲H. Six sets of tonomorphs occur for this sub-group.

(1) Tonomorph LH̲L occurs:

(*a*) Without IV:
In Citation and as Pseudoverb
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
As Object after a negative verb

Examples:

mùGăndà	(a Ganda; He is a Ganda)
mùlŭngì	(a good one; He is good)
bàGăndà nàbàNyóló	(the Ganda and the Nyoro people)
bàNyóló nàbàGăndà	(the Nyoro and the Ganda people)
bàlŭngì nàbàbî	(the good and the bad (people))
bàbî nàbàlŭngì	(the bad and the good)
Sílábyê mùGăndà	(I have not seen the Ganda)

[11] It is possible that some nouns in this series may have the final vowel doubled before Personal Possessives with stems /**-o, -e**/, as is the case in Series 3.1 and 3.2, see 3.3.9 (4), but no examples of this have been noted.

(*b*) With IV (low):
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/

Examples:

ãbàGãndà bãngé	(my Ganda people)
ðmùlűngì wó	(your sg. good one)

(2) Tonomorph HH̲L occurs:

(*a*) Without IV:
After Possessive Prefix (2)

Example:

lùgéló lwãbáGãndà	(It is a saying of the Ganda)

(*b*) With IV (high):
After Prefix /**n '-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ãbàNyóló náábáGãndà	(the Nyoro and the Ganda (people))
ðmùbî nóómúlűngì	(the bad one and the good one)

(3) Tonomorph LH̲H occurs with IV (low):
Before Impersonal Possessives

Examples:

ãbàGãndá béékíbúgà	(the Ganda people of the city)
ãbàlűngí béékíbúgà	(the good ones of the city)

(4) Tonomorph LF̲H occurs with IV (low):
In Citation
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F

Examples:

ðmùGândá	(a Ganda person)
ðlùGândá	(Ganda language)
ãbàlûngí	(good ones)
ˋndábà ãbàGândá	(I see the Ganda people)

(5) Tonomorph HF̲H occurs with IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H

Examples:

ˋnjágálá őlúGândá	(I like the Ganda language)
ˋnjágálá ãbálûngí	(I like the good ones)

(6) Tonomorph LF̲L occurs with IV (low):
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
Before Prefix /**n '-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ãbàGândà bálìmá	(The Ganda cultivate)
ðmùlûngì ãkólà	(The good one is working)
ðlùGândà nóólùNyóló	(the Ganda and Nyoro languages)
ãbàlûngì nãábábî	(the good ones and the bad ones)

3.3.8. *Tone Class B, Series* 3.1 *and* 3.2.

These series are characterized by the terminal sequences LH or L̥H in Series 3.1, and LHH, L̥HH, LH̥H or L̥H̥H in Series 3.2.

Examples:

(1) Sub-class SIS, Series 3.1, Group (*d*):

mùpákàsí	(porter, hired workman), 1
mùsígilé	(deputy), 1
mùfálisó	(mattress), 3
mùsékùzó	(pestle), 3
màwúlilé	(news), 6
kìsásìló	(rubbish, trash), 7
lùkókòlá	(elbow), 11
kàbónèló	(sign, mark), 12
bùyíníké	(grief, sorrow), 14
kùwúlilá	(to hear, feel, sense, listen, obey), 15
ˈbbúgùmú	(heat, warmth), 5
ˈkkólèló	(workshop), 5
ˈkkúfùlú	(padlock), 9
ˈmmótòká	(motorcar), 9
ˈttáwùló	(towel), 9
ˈndógòyí	(donkey), 9
ˈnsánàfú	(soldier ant), 9
ˈnjáwùló	(difference, distinction), 9
ˈnkúkùnyí	(flea), 9
ˈnzítùzó	(bark-cloth patterning mallet), 9
lùkúsẽnsé	(measles), 11
kìtálãvvú	(rusty—Adj., Cl. 7)
mùtégèèvú	(intelligent—Adj., Cl. 1)
!ùtélèèvú	(straight—Adj., Cl. 11)
kùtégèèlá	(to understand), 15
ˈmmúnyèènyé	(star), 9

(2) Sub-class SIS, Series 3.1, Group (*e*):

mùtõngòlé	(sub-chief), 1
mùwéélèzá	(servant), 1
kìfáánànyí	(picture, model, statue), 7
kàtűngùlú	(onion), 12
bùnyííkìvú	(perseverance, consistency of action), 14
lùsõngòvú	(pointed—Adj., Cl. 11)
ˈnséénèné	(sp. of edible grasshopper), 9
ˈnsõngòvú	(pointed—Adj., Cl. 9, 10)
ˈnnéésìbyó	(girdles, sashes), 10
kàwűngèèzí	(evening), 12
mùlõngòòfú	(morally good—Adj., Cl. 1)
màsáákàávú	(hoarse—Adj., Cl. 6)

(3) Sub-class SIS, Series 3.1, Group (*g*):

kìwááwáátìló	(wing), 7
ˈvvúúvúúmìlá	(sp. of buzzing beetle), 5

(4) Sub-class LIS, Series 3.1, Group (*b*):

mwãgàlwá	(loved one, beloved), 1
mwãwùlé	(clergyman—Protestant), 1
mwõlèsó	(exhibition, show), 3
kĩvvùlú	(display, parade), 7
lwẽsìbyó	(girdle, sash), 11
kyãtìfú	(cracked—Adj., Cl. 7)
mwẽngèvú	(ripe—Adj., Cl. 3)
kűddùká	(to run), 15
kwãtìká	(to become cracked), 15

(5) Sub-class LIS, Series 3.1, Group (*c*):

kéédìimó	(riot), 12
kwãyùùyá	(to yawn), 15

(6) Sub-class SIS, Series 3.2, Group (*f*):

mùlábìlízí	(bishop, esp. of Anglican Church), 1
mùyígìlízá	(teacher, instructor), 1
mùbínìkíló	(funnel), 3
kìbónèlézó	(punishment), 7
mùkákànyávú	(tough, dried out—Adj., Cl. 3)
kùbónèlézá	(to punish), 15
ˈnkómèléló	(end), 9
kùsélẽngétá	(to go down, descend), 15

(7) Sub-class SIS, Series 3.2, Group (*g*):

ˈntéékàtééká	(preparation), 9

(8) Sub-class LIS, Series 3.2, Group (*d*):

bűddùkíló	(refuge, sanctuary), 14
kűddùgálá	(to become black, dark, soiled), 15

(9) Sub-class LIS, Series 3.2, Group (*e*):

műjjãnjábí	(nurse), 1
kűvvùùnúlá	(to translate), 15

3.3.9. *Tonal Declension of Series* 3.1 *and* 3.2.
Three additional sets of tonomorphs occur besides those tabulated in 3.3.1.

(1) The set of basic tonomorphs tabulated in 3.3.1 occurs:

(*a*) Without IV:
In Citation and as Pseudoverb
As Object after a negative verb
In Possessive Pseudoverbs
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùsékùzó	(pestle; It is a pestle)
mwãwùlé	(clergyman; He is a clergyman)
mùyígìlízá	(teacher; He is a teacher)

mŭjjănjábí	(nurse; She is a nurse)
Sáágálà mùyígìlízá	(I do not like the teacher)
ĕmmótòkà yààmùsígìlé	(The car is the deputy's)
mùpákàsì nàmùfálisó	(the porter and the mattress)

(*b*) With IV (low):
In Citation
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Before Demonstratives

Examples:

ŏmùsékùzó	(pestle)
ĕndógòyí	(donkey)
ăkúbà ĕndógòyí	(He is hitting the donkey)
ăléèsè ŏmùfálisó	(He has brought the mattress)
ăbàpákàsí ăbó	(those porters)

(2) The second set of tonomorphs has the initial syllable high in Sub-class SIS, e.g. HHLH HHL̲H, H̲HLH, HHLHH, etc.
Distribution:

(*a*) Without IV:
After Possessive Prefix (2)

Examples:

ꜜndógóyí yáámúpákàsí	(It is the donkey of the porter)
mùfálisó gwămúwéélèzá	(It is the mattress of the servant)

(*b*) With IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H
After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /**n** ′**-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ꜜnjágálá ĕkífáánànyí	(I like the picture)
Túbàlá ĕmmúnyèènyé	(We are counting the stars)
ŏmùfálisó gwŏmúwéélèzá	(the mattress of the servant)
ŏmùwéélèzà nóómúpákàsí	(the servant and the porter)

(3) The third set of tonomorphs has the terminal sequence all low, thus:
SIS: LHLL, LHL̲L, L̲HLL, LHLLL, LHL̲LL, etc.
LIS: H̲LL, H̲L̲L, H̲LLL, H̲L̲LL.
Distribution:

(*a*) Without IV:
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùpákàsì nàmùfálisó	(the porter and the mattress)
ꜜmmótòkà nándógòyí	(the motorcar and the donkey)

(*b*) With IV (low):
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
Before Absolute Pronouns
Before Adjectives
Before Prefix /**n** ′**-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ŏmùpákàsì ăgĕnzè	(The porter has gone)
ŏmwăwùlè mŭmpì	(The clergyman is short)
ŏmùsígilè yê	(the deputy himself)
ĕndógòyì ĕnnáfú	(a weak donkey)
ŏmùpákàsì nóómúfálìsó	(the porter and the mattress)

Note, however, /**ŏmùtégèèvú nóómúsílù**/ (the intelligent one and the fool). Tonomorphs with terminal L̰H possibly constitute a special sub-group here.

(4) The fourth set of tonomorphs has the terminal sequence all high, e.g.
SIS: LHHH, LH̰H́, LH̰HH, LHHHH, etc.
LIS: H̰HH, H̰H̰H, H̰HHH, H̰H̰HH.
Distribution:
Before Impersonal Possessives
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/

Examples:

ĕndógóyí yóómúwéélèzá	(the donkey of the servant)
ŏmùsékúzó gwŏmŭjjànjábí	(the pestle of the nurse)
ŏlùkókólá lwăngé	(my elbow)
ĕmmótóká yô	(your sg. motorcar)

With some nouns of these series, the terminal vowel is doubled before Personal Possessives, while in some cases alternation of single or double final vowel occurs, e.g.

ŏmwăgálwă wăngé	(my beloved)
ĕndógóyí ≃ ĕndógóyĭ yăngé	(my donkey)

Further research is needed on this point.

3.3.10. *Tone Class B, Series* 4.1, 4.2 *and* 4.3.
These series are characterized by the terminal sequences F̱H, F̱HH, F̱HHH, etc. There is a tonomorphological relationship between Sub-class SIS, Groups (*d*), (*e*), and Tone Class D, Series 4.1, Groups (*d*), (*e*), for which see 3.5.8. Examples of Series 4.1, 4.2, 4.3:

(1) Sub-class SIS, Series 4.1, Group (*c*):

mùgâggá	(rich person), 1
mùsâjjá	(man), 1
mùtûnzí	(tailor), 1
mùyîzzí	(hunter), 1
mùpûngá	(rice), 3
kìjíìkó	(spoon), 7
lùyîmbá	(song, hymn), 11
kàsáàlé	(arrow), 12
bùdôngó	(mortar, mud), 14
kùléètá	(to bring), 15
ʽbbângá	(space, time, opportunity), 5
ʽbbéèlé	(breast of a woman), 5
ʽbbûmbá	(potter's clay), 5
ʽddêngé	(whistle, flute, horn), 5
ʽssângá	(tusk, ivory), 5
ʽmbâzzí	(axe, adze), 9

ˋmbîzzí (bush pig), 9
ˋmmûndú (gun, rifle), 9
ˋnkûmbí (hoe), 9
ˋnnyîndó (nose), 9

(2) Sub-class SIS, Series 4.1, Group (*d*):
mùfúlêjjé (water pipe, drain pipe, gutter), 3
mùsúmáàlí (nail, spike), 3
mùsúmáàwá (candle), 3
mùsúméènó (saw), 3

(3) Sub-class SIS, Series 4.1, Group (*e*):
mùkááfíìlí (heathen), 1
mùpáápáàlí (papaw tree), 3
kìsáákáàté (reed fence), 7
kìtãmbáàlá (table cloth), 7
kìtéétéèyí (dress, frock, gown), 7
ˋkkőndéèlé (trumpet), 5
ˋppáápáàlí (papaw fruit), 5
ˋttőffáàlí (brick), 5
ˋnkúúfíìlá (hat), 9
ˋnnáánânsí (pine-apple), 9
ˋssãndúùkó (box, crate), 9

(4) Sub-class SIS, Series 4.1, Group (*g*):
bùlőmbólômbó (tradition), 14

(5) Sub-class LIS, Series 4.1, Group (*a*):
mûbbí (thief), 1
mwâná (child), 1
mûggó (stick), 3
mâzzí (water), 6
kyûmá (metal object, machine), 7
lûzzí (well, spring, water source), 11
lwâlá (nail, claw), 11
ǃwâzí (rock, boulder), 11
kûbbá (to steal), 15
kwôtá (to bask, warm oneself), 15

Note that nouns of Cl. 11 in this group have their plurals in Tone Class B, SIS, Series 2.0, Group (*b*), thus: / **ˋnzízì**, **ˋnjálà**, **ˋnjázì**/.

(6) Sub-class LIS, Series 4.1, Group (*c*):
lűbbôbbó (old worn-out basket), 11
kyẽléèlé (empty—Adj., Cl. 7)

(7) Sub-class SIS, Series 4.2, Group (*e*):
màlwâlíló (hospitals), 6
kìbîjjúkó (very happy occasion), 7
kìwûmmúló (rest, relaxation, break), 7
kùtâmbúlá (to walk), 15

ˈbbáàgílò	(slaughter place), **5**
ˈddwâlílò	(hospital), **5**
ˈggwáàtílò	(place for peeling bananas), **5**
kìkwêkwētó	(police raid), **7**
kùdáàlīmbá	(to be lazy), **15**

(8) Sub-class SIS, Series 4.3, Group (*g*):

kìsáànìkízó	(cover, lid, stopper), **7**
kùgâggáwálá	(to become rich), **15**
kùyáàyáánílá	(to long for), **15**
kùlyâzáámáányá	(to cheat), **15**

3.3.11. *Tonal Declension of Series* 4.1, 4.2 *and* 4.3.
Three additional sets of tonomorphs occur besides those tabulated in 3.3.1.

(1) The set of basic tonomorphs tabulated in 3.3.1 occurs:

(*a*) Without IV:
In Citation and as Pseudoverb
As Object after a negative verb
In Possessive Pseudoverbs
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùsâjjá	(man; He/It is a man)
mûbbí	(thief; He/It is a thief)
mùsúméènó	(saw; It is a saw)
ˈttōffáàlí	(brick; It is a brick)
Sílábyê mùsúméènó	(I have not seen the saw)
ēmmûndù yààmùyìzzí	(The gun is the hunter's)
mùyìzzì nàmùtûnzí	(the hunter and the tailor)

(*b*) With IV (low):
In Citation
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Before Demonstratives

Examples:

ōmùsâjjá	(man)
ōmûbbí	(thief)
ētt̄ōffáàlí	(brick)
ālèèsè ōmùsúméènó	(He has brought the saw)
ōmùsúméènó gùnó	(this saw)

(2) The second set of tonomorphs has the initial syllable high in Sub-class SIS, e.g. H$\underline{\text{F}}$H, HH$\underline{\text{F}}$H, H$\underline{\text{H}}\underline{\text{F}}H, H\underline{\text{F}}HH, H\underline{\text{F}}\underline{\text{H}}$H, $\underline{\text{H}}\underline{\text{F}}$HHH, etc.

Distribution:
(*a*) Without IV:
After Possessive Prefix (2)

Examples:

ˈmmūndú yáámúyìzzí	(It is the gun of the hunter)
mùsúméénó gwāmúgâggá	(It is the saw of the rich man)

(*b*) With IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H
After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /**n '-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

'ngúlá ŏmúsúméènó	(I am buying a saw)
Túbàlá ămátŏffáàlí	(We are counting the bricks)
ŏmùsúméénó gwŏmúgâggá	(the saw of the rich man)
ŏmùyîzzì nóómútûnzí	(the hunter and the tailor)

(3) The third set of tonomorphs has the terminal sequence all low after F̲, thus:
SIS: LF̲L, LHF̲L, LH̲F̲L, LF̲LL, LF̲L̲L, LF̲LLL, etc.
LIS: F̲L, H̲F̲L.

Distribution:
(*a*) Without IV:
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùsâjjà nàmwâná	(the man and the child)
mâzzì nãbbûmbá	(water and clay)

(*b*) With IV (low):
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
Before Absolute Pronouns
Before Adjectives
Before Prefix /**n '-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ŏmùtûnzì ãgẽnzè	(The tailor has gone)
ŏmûggò mùwãnvù	(The stick is long)
ŏmùyîzzì yê	(the hunter himself)
ŏmûggò ŏmùwãnvù	(a long stick)
ŏmùsâjjà nóómwâná	(a man and a child)

(4) The fourth set of tonomorphs has the terminal sequence all high, F̲ being replaced by H̲, thus:
SIS: LH̲H, LHH̲H, LH̲H̲H, LH̲HH, LH̲H̲H, LH̲HHH, etc.
LIS: H̲H, H̲H̲H.
Distribution:
Before Impersonal Possessives
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/[12]

Examples:

ŏmwãná wóómúsâjjá	(the child of the man)
ŏbùsáálé bwŏmúyîzzí	(the arrows of the hunter)
ŏmŭggó gwãngé	(my stick)
ŏmwãná wô / wê	(your sg. /his child)

Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/ the forms /**ŏmwâná**/ and /**ăbáàná**/ have final low tone, thus:

ŏmwãnà wãngé	(my child)
ăbáànà bãffé	(our children)

[12] It is possible that some nouns in these series have the final vowel doubled before Personal Possessives, as is the case in Series 3.1 and 3.2, see 3.3.9 (4), but no examples of this have been noted.

3.4.0. TONE CLASS C.

3.4.1. This is a relatively small class, with three distinguishing features:

(*a*) In the basic tonomorphs the first two syllables in Sub-class SIS are LL, while the first syllable in Sub-class LIS is L̲. Note by contrast that in Tone Class B, only the first syllable in Sub-class SIS is L, while the first syllable in Sub-class LIS is H̲.

(*b*) In all groups, different tonomorphs occur in the citation forms with IV. Note by contrast that in Tone Class B the basic tonomorphs occur in the citation forms both with and without IV, except in the sub-group described in 3.3.7.[13] As will be seen, in declension Tone Class C forms behave partly like certain groups in Tone Class B.

(*c*) Tone Class C includes only forms with initial syllables CV, CVV, CVC, whereas the corresponding tonal forms with initial syllable Ç are included in Tone Class D.

In the tabulation of basic tonomorphs of Tone Class C the same format is used as for Tone Class B, in order to facilitate cross-reference and comparison. Tonomorphs marked with an asterisk are not represented in our data. Only four tonomorphs have been recorded for Sub-class SIS, only one for Sub-class LIS.

Tone Class C, Short Initial Syllable.

	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)	(*g*)
1.0.		LLF	*LL̲F				
2.0.				LLHL	*LL̲HL		
				*LLH̲L	*LL̲H̲L		
3.1.						LLHLH	*LL̲HLH
3.2.							
4.1.				----	----		
				LLF̲H	*LL̲F̲H		

Tone Class C, Long Initial Syllable.

	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)	(*g*)
1.0.	L̲F						

3.4.2. *Examples of Nouns of Tone Class C:*

(1) Sub-class SIS, Series 1.0, Group (*b*):

mùgòlê	(bride), 1
mùlàlû	(mad person), 1
mùsìbê	(prisoner), 1
mùwàlâ	(girl), 1
mùgùgû	(baggage, goods and chattels), 3
mùsànâ	(daylight, sunlight), 3
mùsòlô	(tax), 3
mùsòtâ	(snake), 3
kìgèlê	(foot, paw, footprint), 7
kìsìkî	(log), 7
kìwùkâ	(insect), 7
kàgèlê	(toe), 12
bùgàzî	(width, breadth), 14
bùlàmû	(good health, life), 14

[13] In this respect, and certain others of its declension, the "aberrant" sub-group of 3.3.7 behaves like forms of Tone Class C, but it lacks the characteristic initial sequence LL mentioned in (*a*) above.

(2) Sub-class LIS, Series 1.0, Group (*a*):

mùggyâ	(newcomer, freshman), 1
mũngû	(sp. of vegetable marrow), 3
lĩggwâ	(thorn), 5
lyẽnvû	(ripe banana), 5
kĩggyâ	(clan burial place), 7
kĩnnyâ	(hole in the ground), 7
kyõyâ	(feather, plume), 7
lũggyâ	(courtyard), 11
lũmbê	(disease, death rites), 11
lũnnyâ	(trench, furrow), 11
bũnnyâ	(pit, hole in the ground), 14
bwõngô	(brain), 14
bwõyâ	(wool, fur, animal hair), 14

(3) Sub-class SIS, Series 2.0, Group (*d*):

mùsòmésà	(teacher), 1
mùtùkúvù	(saint—Protestant), 1
bùlèbévù	(weakness, slackness, looseness), 14
mùgìmúfù	(well-grown—Adj., Cl. 3)
mùmànyífù	(well-known, famous—Adj., Cl. 1)
mùnyìlívù	(well-groomed, smart—Adj., Cl. 1)
màtàbíkè	(mixed—Adj., Cl. 6)
lùyùlífù	(torn—Adj., Cl. 11)

(4) Sub-class SIS, Series 3.1, Group (*f*):

kìbègábègá	(shoulder), 7
mùmànyílìvú	(expert, experienced—Adj., Cl. 1)

(5) Sub-class SIS, Series 4.1, Group (*d*):

mùgàyáàvú	(idle, lazy, remiss person), 1
mùsòlóòzá	(money (tax, rent, etc.) collector), 1
mùtàmíìvú	(drunkard), 1
bùtàmíìvú	(drunkenness), 14

3.4.3. *Tonal Declension of Series* 1.0.

Only two basic tonomorphs occur here, LLF (Sub-class SIS), and L̲F (Sub-class LIS). Besides these, there are five additional sets of tonomorphs for this series, some of which are identical in form, though not always in distribution, with those of Tone Class B, SIS, 2.0, (*b*), and LIS, 2.0, (*a*), i.e. LHL and H̲L, thus of the corresponding groups in the *following* series.

(1) Tonomorphs LLF and L̲F occur only without IV:

In Citation and as Pseudoverb
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùwàlâ	(girl; She/It is a girl)
mùsòtâ	(snake; It is a snake)

lĭggwâ	(thorn; It is a thorn)
mùwàlâ nàmùgòlê	(the girl and the bride)
byŏyâ nàbwŏyâ	(feathers and wool)

(2) Tonomorphs HHF and H̱F occur:

(*a*) Without IV:

After Possessive Prefix (2)

Examples:

mùgùgú gwãmúgólê	(It is the baggage of the bride)
mùgùgú gwãmŭ̋ggyâ	(It is the baggage of the newcomer)

(*b*) With IV (high):

After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /**n** ʼ**-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ŏmùgúgú gwŏ̋múgólê	(the baggage of the bride)
ŏmùgúgú gwŏ̋mŭ̋ggyâ	(the baggage of the newcomer)
ŏmùwálà nóómúgólê	(the girl and the bride)
ŏbyŏ̋yà nóóbwŏ̋yâ	(feathers and wool)

(3) Tonomorphs LLH̱ and ḺH̱ occur without IV:

Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/

Examples:

mùgùgŭ̋ gwängé	(It is my baggage)
kìgèlĕ kyò	(It is your sg. foot)
myŭ̀ngŭ̋ gyäffé	(They are our vegetable marrows)
lyĕ̀nvŭ̋ lyè	(It is his ripe banana)

(4) Tonomorphs LHL and H̱L occur with IV (low):

In Citation
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Before Personal Possessors with stems /**-ngé, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/
Before Prefix /**n** ʼ**-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ŏmùwálà	(girl)
ŏbwŏ̋yà	(wool, fur, hair)
ŏmùwálà ăkólà	(The girl is working)
ĕbyŏ̋yà bìlŭ̋ngì	(The feathers are nice)
ălábà ŏmùsótà	(He sees a snake)
ŏmùgólè wängé	(my bride)
ămĕnvù gààbwé	(their ripe bananas)
ĕbìwúkà náámăggwâ	(insects and thorns)
ămăggwà néébíwúkâ	(thorns and insects)

(5) Tonomorphs HHL and H̱L occur with IV (high):

As Object after a positive verb with terminal H

Examples:

ãyágálá ãbáwálà	(He likes girls)
ˈngúlá ẽmyűngù	(I am buying vegetable marrows)

(6) Tonomorphs LHH and ḶHH occur with IV (low):

Before Impersonal Possessives
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-o, -e**/

Examples:

õmùgúgú gwőmúsíbê	(the baggage of the prisoner)
ẽbìgélé byőmúwálâ	(the feet of the girl)
ẽbyőyá byênnyónyí	(the feathers of the bird)
ẽbyőyá byãyô	(its feathers)
ẽbìgélé byô	(your sg. feet)
õműngú gwê	(his vegetable marrow)

3.4.4. *Tonal Declension of Series* 2.0.

Only one basic tonomorph occurs here, LLHL. There are six additional tonomorphs, some of which are identical in form, though not always in distribution, with those of tonomorph LHLH in Tone Class B, i.e. SIS, 3.1, (*d*), thus of the corresponding group in the *following* series.

(1) Tonomorph LLHL occurs only without IV:

In Citation and as Pseudoverb
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùsòmésà	(teacher; He is a teacher)
õlùgóyè lùyùlífù	(The cloth is torn)
mùsòmésà nàmùpákàsí	(the teacher and the workman)
mùpákàsì nàmùsòmésà	(the workman and the teacher)

(2) Tonomorph HHHL occurs:

(*a*) Without IV:

After Possessive Prefix (2)

Example:

lwẽyó lwãmúsómésà	(It is the broom of the teacher)

(*b*) With IV (high):

After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /**n ˈ-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

õlwẽyó lwőmúsómésà	(the broom of the teacher)
õlwẽyó nóómúsómésà	(the broom and the teacher)

(3) Tonomorph LHLH occurs with IV (low):

In Citation
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F

Examples:

ɔ̃mùsómèsá	(teacher)
ɔ̃lùyúlìfú	(the torn one—Adj., Cl. 11)
ɔ̃lùgóyè ɔ̃lùyúlìfú	(a torn cloth)
ˈndábyè ɔ̃mùsómèsá	(I have seen the teacher)

(4) Tonomorph HHLH occurs with IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H

Example:

ˈnjágálá ɔ̃músómèsá	(I like the teacher)

(5) Tonomorph LHLL occurs with IV (low):
As Subject of a verb or pseudoverb
Before Prefix /**n** ′-/ (and, with)

Examples:

ɔ̃mùsómèsà ãkólà	(The teacher is working)
ɔ̃lùyúlìfù lùlűngì	(The torn one is nice)
ɔ̃mùsómèsà nóómúpákàsí	(the teacher and the workman)

(6) Tonomorph LHHH occurs with IV (low):
Before Impersonal Possessives

Examples:

ɔ̃mùsómésá wêssóméló	(the teacher of the school)
ãbàsómésá bêssóméló	(the teachers of the school)

(7) Tonomorph LHHH[14] occurs with IV (low):
Before Impersonal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/

Examples:

ɔ̃mùsómésã̀ wàngé / wè	(my/his teacher)
ãbàsómésã̀ bò / bãmmwé	(your sg./pl. teachers)

N.B.—Our data does not reveal whether this tonomorph, with double final vowel, occurs for other forms in this group.

3.4.5. *Tonal Declension of Series* 3.1.

Only one basic tonomorph occurs here, LLHLH. Our only declensional data indicates the additional tonomorph LHLLH occurring in citation with IV.[15]

(1) Tonomorph LLHLH occurs without IV:
In Citation and as Pseudoverb

Examples:

kìbègábègá	(shoulder; It is a shoulder)
mùmànyílìvú	(experienced, expert; He is experienced)
ɔ̃mùsómèsà mùmànyílìvú	(The teacher is experienced)

(2) Tonomorph LHLLH occurs with IV (low):
In Citation

Example:

ɔ̃mùmányìlìvú	(an experienced one)

[14] The doubling of the final vowel is not represented in the Standard Orthography.
[15] The declension of this group probably parallels closely that of Series 4.1, Group (*d*), see 3.4.6. For the tonomorph LHLLH, compare also the group noted in 3.6.2.

3.4.6. *Tonal Declension of Series* 4.1.

Only one basic tonomorph occurs here, LLF̲H. There are six additional tonomorphs, some of which are identical in form, though not always in distribution, with those of tonomorph LHL̲H in Tone Class B, SIS, 3.1, (*d*), i.e. of the corresponding group in the *preceding* series.

(1) Tonomorph LLF̲H occurs without IV:
In Citation and as Pseudoverb
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

mùtàmíìvú	(drunkard; He/It is a drunkard)
mùsòlóòzá	(money collector; He is a money collector)
mùsòlóòzà nàmùtàmíìvú	(the tax collector and the drunkard)

(2) Tonomorph LLF̲L occurs without IV:
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Example:

mùtàmíìvù nàmùsòlóòzá	(the drunkard and the tax collector)

(3) Tonomorph HHF̲H occurs with IV (high):
After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /**n ′-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ẽccúpá lyőmútámíìvú	(the bottle of the drunkard)
ẽkítábó kyőmúsólóòzá	(the book of the tax collector)
õmùgáyàávú nóómútámíìvú	(the lazy one and the drunkard)

(4) Tonomorph LHL̲H occurs with IV (low):
In Citation
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Before Prefix /**n ′-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

õmùsólòòzá	(tax collector)
õmùtámìívú	(drunkard)
ˈndábyè õmùsólòòzá	(I have seen the tax collector)
õmùtámìívú nóómúgáyáàvú	(the drunkard and the laggard)

(5) Tonomorph LHL̲L occurs with IV (low):
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb

Examples:

õmùsólòòzà ãzzê	(The tax collector has come)
õmùtámìívù ãgűddè	(The drunkard has fallen)

(6) Tonomorph HHL̲H occurs with IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H

Example:

ˈnsásúlá õmúsólòòzá	(I am paying the tax collector)

(7) Tonomorph LHH̲H occurs with IV (low):
Before Impersonal Possessives
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/
Examples:
ðmùsólóózá wéékyãló (the tax collector of the village)
ðbùtámíívú bwè / bwãbwé (his/their drunkenness)

3.5.0. TONE CLASS D.

3.5.1. This is a small class, with representatives only of the type with Short Initial Syllable. It has the following noteworthy features:
(*a*) In the basic tonomorphs the first two syllables are LL, as is the case also in Tone Class C (vide 3.4.1 (*a*)).
(*b*) In all groups, the basic tonomorphs occur also in the citation forms with IV (cf. Tone Class B, and ct. Tone Class C, vide 3.4.1 (*b*)).
(*c*) Tone Class D includes only forms with initial syllable Ç (ct. Tone Class C, vide 3.4.1 (*c*)).
(*d*) When the initial syllable Ç is replaced by CV, as in plural formation in Cl. 6 and diminutive formation in Cl. 12, a change of tone class occurs.
(*e*) In declension, forms in Tone Class D have patterns of distribution matching those of certain groups in Tone Class B.

In the tabulation of tonomorphs the same format is used as for Tone Classes B and C, in order to facilitate cross-reference and comparison. Only five tonomorphs have been recorded for this class.

	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)	(*g*)
1.0.		LLF	*LL̲F				
2.0.				LLHL	LL̲HL		
3.1.							
3.2.							
4.1.				LLF̲H	LL̲F̲H		
4.2.							
4.3.							

3.5.2. *Examples of Nouns of Tone Class D:*

(1) Series 1.0, Group (*b*):
ˋddàlû (madness, lunacy), 5
ˋggwàlâ (big strapping girl), 5
ˋjjòbâ (crest, tuft of hair on shaven head), 5
ˋjjòvû (foam, froth), 5
ˋjjùbâ (dove), 5
ˋttòsî (clay, sticky mud), 5
ˋmbògô (buffalo), 9
ˋmpùkû (cave), 9

ˈngègê	(sp. of fish, bream, *Tilapia* sp.), 9
ˈnsìlî	(mosquito), 9
ˈntàmû	(clay pot), 9
ˈntàmû	(eland antelope), 9
ˈnvùbû	(hippopotamus), 9
ˈmpàkâ	(dispute, argument, competition), 10

(2) Series 2.0, Group (*d*):[16]

ˈbbàkúlì	(bowl, basin), 9
ˈbbàlúwà	(letter), 9
ˈbbìníkà	(kettle), 9
ˈggùníyà	(sack, bag), 9
ˈkkàlíyà	(carrier, pillion, trailer), 9
ˈkkànísà	(church), 9
ˈndègéyà	(sp. of weaver bird), 9
ˈnkùyégè	(termite, white ant), 9
ˈŋŋàmílà	(camel), 9
ˈmbàlázà	(verandahs), 10

(3) Series 2.0, Group (*e*):[16]

ˈkkēngélè	(bicycle bell), 9

(4) Series 4.1, Group (*d*):[16]

ˈddòbóòzí	(voice), 5
ˈkkàláàmú	(pen, pencil), 9
ˈggòlóòfá	(upper storey, upstairs), 9
ˈmbàláàsí	(horse), 9
ˈssìnéèmá	(cinema), 9
ˈssòwáàní	(plate), 9
ˈttàwáàzá	(hurricane lamp, storm lantern), 9
ˈttìpóòtá	(tea-pot), 9

(5) Series 4.1, Group (*e*):[16]

ˈssäffáàlí	(safari), 9

3.5.3. *Tonal Declension of Series* 1.0.

Only one basic tonomorph, LLF, occurs in this series. The pattern of declension is the same as that for Tone Class B, SIS, 1.0 (*a*), LF, the only difference being in the number of syllables involved.

(1) Tonomorph LLF occurs:

(*a*) Without IV:

In Citation and as Pseudoverb
As Object after a negative verb
In Possessive Pseudoverbs
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ˈmbògô	(buffalo; It is a buffalo)
Sílàbà ˈmbògô	(I do not see the buffalo)
ēggî lyäjjùbâ	(The egg is the dove's)
ˈmbògô nānvùbû	(the buffalo and the hippo)

[16] Most of these are obvious adoptives. Whether this has any significance in relation to their inclusion in Tone Class D is uncertain.

(*b*) With IV (low):
In Citation
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Before Prefix /**n** '-/ (and, with)
Before Adjectives

Examples:

ɛ̃nvùbû	(hippopotamus)
ɛ̃mbògô ˈnkãmbwé	(The buffalo is fierce)
ˈndábà ɛ̃jjùbâ	(I see a dove)
ɛ̃nvùbû nɛ̃mbógô	(hippo and buffalo)
ɛ̃ntàmû ɛ̃nzító	(a heavy pot)

(2) Tonomorph HHF occurs:
(*a*) Without IV:
After Possessive Prefix (2)

Example:

ˈnnyámá yãmbógô	(It is the meat of a buffalo)

(*b*) With IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H
After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /**n** '-/ (and, with)

Examples:

ˈnjágálá ɛ̃mbógô	(I like buffaloes)
ɛ̃mbògô nɛ̃nvúbû	(buffalo and hippo)
ɛ̃nnyámá yɛ̃mbógô	(the meat of a buffalo)

(3) Tonomorph LLH occurs with IV (low):
Before Impersonal Possessives

Examples:

ɛ̃ntàmú yóómúkázì	(the pot of the woman)
ɛ̃jjùbá lyɔ̃nùlɛ̃nzí	(the dove of the boy)

(4) Tonomorph LL̲H occurs with IV (low):[17]
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/

Examples:

ɛ̃ntàmű̃ yãngé / yò	(my/your sg. clay pot)
ɛ̃mpàkã̂ zàábwé	(their dispute)

3.5.4. There is a reciprocal relationship between Tone Classes C and D, Series 1.0, Group (*b*). When a CV prefix is substituted for the C̲ prefix of nouns in Tone Class D, the nouns are transferred to Tone Class C.

Examples:

màyùbâ (doves), 6	Tone Class C
cf. **ˈjjùbâ** (dove), 5	D
kàbògô (small or young buffalo), 12	C
cf. **ˈmbògô** (buffalo), 9	D
kàtàmû (small clay pot), 12	C
cf. **ˈntàmû** (clay pot), 9	D

[17] The doubling of the final vowel is not represented in the Standard Orthography.

Conversely, when a C̱ prefix is substituted for the CV prefix of nouns in Tone Class C, the nouns are transferred to Tone Class D.

Examples:

ʻddàlû (madness, lunacy), 5	Tone Class D
cf. **mùlàlû** (mad person), 1	C
ʻggèlê (great big foot), 5	D
cf. **kìgèlê** (foot), 7	C
ʻggwàlâ (big strapping girl), 5	D
cf. **mùwàlâ** (girl), 1	C

3.5.5. *Tonal Declension of Series* 2.0.

Two basic tonomorphs occur in this series, LLHL and LḺHL. The pattern of declension is the same as that for Tone Class B, SIS, 2.0 (*b*), LHL, the only difference being in the number of syllables involved.

(1) Tonomorphs LLHL and LḺHL occur:

(*a*) Without IV:

In Citation and as Pseudoverb
As Object after a negative verb
In Possessive Pseudoverbs
Before Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)
After Prefix /**nà-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ʻbbàlúwà	(letter; It is a letter)
ʻkkēngélè	(bicycle bell; It is a bicycle bell)
Sílábyê ʻbbàlúwà	(I have not seen the letter)
ʻbbàkúlì nābbìníkà	(the bowl and the kettle)

(*b*) With IV (low):

In Citation
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/
Before Prefix /**n ʼ-**/ (and, with)

Examples:

ēbbàlúwà	(letter)
ēkkēngélè	(bicycle bell)
ēbbàlúwà ēzzê	(A letter has come)
ʻnzísè ēnkùyégè	(I have killed the termites)
ēbbàlúwà yāngé	(my letter)
ēkkēngélè yāngé	(my bicycle bell)
ēbbàkúlì nēbbíníkà	(a bowl and a kettle)

(2) Tonomorphs HHHL and HH̱HL occur:

(*a*) Without IV:

After Possessive Prefix (2)

Examples:

bwōyá bwāŋŋámílà	(It is the hair of a camel)
màgí gāndégéyà	(They are the eggs of a weaver bird)

(*b*) With IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H
After Possessive Prefix (1)
After Prefix /n '-/ (and, with)

Examples:

ˈnjágálá ẽndégéyà	(I like weaver birds)
ẽbyõyá byẽndégéyà	(the feathers of a weaver bird)
ẽbbìníkà nẽkkẽngélè	(a kettle and a bicycle bell)

(3) Tonomorphs LLHH and LḶHH occur with IV (low):
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-o, -e**/
Before Impersonal Possessives

Examples:

ẽbbàlúwá yô / yê	(your sg. /his letter)
ẽkkẽngélé yóómùlẽnzí	(the bicycle bell of the boy)

3.5.6. There is a relationship, though not always reciprocal, between Tone Classes B and D, Series 2.0, Groups (*d*) and (*e*). When a CV prefix is substituted for the Ç prefix of nouns in Tone Class D, the nouns are transferred to the corresponding groups in Tone Class B.

Examples:[18]

màbálúwà (letters), 6	Tone Class B
cf. **ˈbbàlúwà** (letter), 9	D
màkánísà (churches), 6	B
cf. **ˈkkànísà** (church), 9	D
kàlégéyà (little weaver bird), 12	B
cf. **ˈndègéyà** (weaver bird), 9	D
kàkẽngélè (small bicycle bell), 12	B
cf. **ˈkkẽngélè** (bicycle bell), 9	D

One example has been noted of the converse relationship, whereby a Ç prefix is substituted for the CV prefix of a noun in Tone Class B, and it is then transferred to Tone Class D:

ˈmbàlázà (verandahs), 10	Tone Class D
cf. **lùbálázà** (verandah), 11	B

However, the occurrence of /**ˈggõngólò**/ (millipede) in Tone Class B, SIS, 2.0, (*e*), vide 3.3.5 (4), instead of /* **ˈggõngólò**/, indicates that the relationship is not always reciprocal. Further research is needed on this point.

3.5.7. *Tonal Declension of Series* 4.1.
Two basic tonomorphs occur in this series, LLF̣L and LḶF̣L. Such data as we have suggests that their pattern of declension is the same as that for Tone Class B, SIS, 4.1 (*c*), except for the difference in number of syllables involved.

(1) Tonomorphs LLF̣L and LḶF̣L occur:
(*a*) Without IV:
In Citation and as Pseudoverb

Examples:

ˈmbàláàsí	(horse; It is a horse)
ˈssãffáàlí	(safari; It is a safari)

[18] Cf. also 3.5.2 (2) and (3), and 3.3.5 (3) and (4).

(*b*) With IV (low):
In Citation
As Object after a positive verb with terminal L or F
Examples:

ẽmbàláàsí	(horse(s))
ẽssäffáàlí	(safari(s))
ˈndábà ẽmbàláàsí	(I see a horse)

(2) Tonomorphs HHF̱H and HḦF̱H occur with IV (high):
As Object after a positive verb with terminal H
After Possessive Prefix (1)
Examples:

ˈnjágálá ẽmbáláàsí	(I like horses)
ãmágúlú gẽmbáláàsí	(the legs of the horse(s))

(3) Tonomorphs LLF̱L and LḶF̱L occur with IV (low):
As Subject before a verb or pseudoverb
Before Adjectives
Examples:

ẽmbàláàsì ˈnnyãngú	(The horse is fast)
ẽmbàláàsì ẽgẽnzè	(The horse has gone)
ẽmbàláàsì ẽnnyãngú	(a fast horse)

(4) Tonomorphs LLḶH and LḶḦH occur with IV (low):
Before Impersonal Possessives
Before Personal Possessives with stems /**-ngé, -o, -e, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/
Examples:

ẽddòbóózí lyõmúkázì	(the voice of the woman)
ẽkkàláámú yãngé	(my pen)
ẽmbàláàsí záábwé	(their horses)

3.5.8. There is a relationship between Tone Classes B and D, Series 4.1, Groups (*d*) and (*e*). When a CV prefix is substituted for the Ç prefix of nouns in Tone Class D, the nouns are transferred to the corresponding groups in Tone Class B.
Examples:

màlóbóòzí (voices), 6	Tone Class B
cf. **ˈddòbóòzí** (voice), 5	D
màkálàámú (pens, pencils), 6	B
cf. **ˈkkàláámú** (pen), 9	D
kàbáláàsí (small horse, foal), 12	B
cf. **ˈmbàláàsí** (horse), 9	D
màsówáàní (plates), 6	B
cf. **ˈssòwáàní** (plate), 9	D
màsãffáàlí (safaris), 6	B
cf. **ˈssãffáàlí** (safari), 9	D

No instance has been recorded of the converse transfer of nouns of Tone Class B to Tone Class D when a CV prefix is replaced by a Ç prefix. Thus nouns of Tone Class B, SIS, 4.1 (*d*) undergo no change of tonomorph in augmentative formation in Cl. 5, e.g.

ˈssúmáàlí (large nail), 5	cf. **mùsúmáàlí** (nail, spike), 3
ˈssúmáàwá (large candle), 5	cf. **mùsúmáàwá** (candle), 3
ˈssúméènó (large saw), 5	cf. **mùsúméènó** (saw), 3

3.6.0. OTHER TONE GROUPS.

3.6.1. As already mentioned, nouns of Cl. 1a, 2a, 16, 17, 18, 23, have not been taken into account in this analysis, our data on these being quite inadequate. It is probable that most of them will conform to the system of tone classes, sub-classes, series and groups outlined in 3.2.0—3.5.0, though some extension of the system may be required to accommodate them. A few other small groups have been observed and are now briefly noted here.

3.6.2. Several forms have been recorded with tonomorphs LHLLH, LH̲LLH (SIS), and H̲LLH (LIS). These are:

ˈnzílùgàvú	(black—Adj., Cl. 9, 10)
ˈnnyínyògòvú	(cold—Adj., Cl. 9, 10)
mùtúúkìlìvú	(perfect—Adj., Cl. 3)
mű́zzùkùlú	(grandchild), Cl. 1
lĭddùgàvú	(black—Adj., Cl. 5)
lĭnnyògòvú	(cold—Adj., Cl. 5)

The same tonomorphs occur with IV, e.g.

ēnzílùgàvú
ōmùtúúkìlìvú
ōmű́zzùkùlú

It seems likely that these tonomorphs would constitute an additional series in Tone Class B, fitting into the system between the present Series 3.2 and 4.1, but we have no further data on their tonal declension and distribution.

3.6.3. Four forms have been recorded with tonomorph HLH. These are:

kíbàlá	(fruit), 7	pl.	**bíbàlá**, 8
kídìmá	(hoe), 7		—
kíkòlwá	(deed, act, something done), 7		**bíkòlwá**, 8
kívùgá	(musical instrument—generic term), 7		**bívùgá**, 8

These are unique in having high tone on short initial syllable. The same tonomorph occurs with IV, e.g. /**ēkíbàlá**/. We suspect that these are not nouns, but independent relative constructions, e.g.

ēkíkòlwá	(that which is done), cf.
kùkólà	(to do, make, work), 15, and
kùkólwà	(to be done, made), 15.

3.7.0. CONCLUDING NOTE.

3.7.1. In the description of tonal declensions given in this chapter, we have not indicated whether the alternant sets of tonomorphs are allomorphic or morphemic in status. In review, it seems probable that all changes in initial tonal sequences are allomorphic and determined by the terminal tone of the preceding word or affix. If this proves to be the case, much of the repetition could be eliminated, and the changes in initial tonal sequences for all tone classes could be reduced to a few morphotonemic statements. Variations in radical and terminal tonal sequences, however, are probably morphemic in status. In terms of these suggestions, for example, the following restatement would apply for the alternants of tonomorph LLF, Tone Class C, Series 1.0, Group (*b*):

(1) Tonomorpheme LLF, with allomorph HHF
(2) Tonomorpheme LLH̲
(3) Tonomorpheme LHL, with allomorph HHL
(4) Tonomorpheme LHH

Chapter 4

PRONOUNS

4.1.0. INTRODUCTION.

4.1.1. Two types of pronouns are described here, Absolute and Demonstrative. In respect of both of these the statements of tonomorphological substitution and distribution are very tentative and incomplete. In addition to the Demonstrative Pronouns, we list also four types of Demonstrative Pseudoverbs.

4.2.0. ABSOLUTE PRONOUNS.

4.2.1. An Absolute Pronoun may occur independently as subject or object in a sentence, or appositionally and in concordial agreement with a noun, or inflected, as in Pseudoverbal, Possessive and Adverbial constructions. When independent and appositional, Absolute Pronouns are emphatic in significance, but otherwise they are generally unemphatic. When appositional, Absolute Pronouns follow the nouns with which they agree concordially, and which they emphasize.

4.2.2. The basic set of Absolute Pronouns, listed as Set (1) below, occurs when independent, when appositional, in pseudoverbal constructions, and with prefix /**ngá-**/ (like, in the same way as). The allomorphs under (2) occur with the prefix /**nà-**/ (and, also, together with). The allomorphs under (3) occur in possessive constructions with the prefixes set out in 5.5.2.

4.2.3. Table of Absolute Pronouns.

	(1)		(2)		(3)
1st p. sg.	**ˋnzé**	∞	**-ngé**		
pl.	**ˋffé**				
2nd p. sg.	**ˋggwé**	∞	**-we**	∞	**-ó**
pl.	**ˋmmwé**				
Cl. 1	**yê**			∞	**-é**
2	**bô**			∞	**-bwé**
3	**gwô**				
4	**gyô**				
5	**lyô**				
6	**gô**				
7	**kyô**				
8	**byô**				
9	**yô**				
10	**zô**				
11	**lwô**				
12	**kô**				
13	**twô**				
14	**bwô**				
15	**kwô**				
16	**wô**				

17	**kwô**
18	**mwô**
20	**gwô**
22	**gô**
23	**yô**

4.2.4. *Tonomorphology:* The basic tonomorphemes of the Absolute Pronouns are as recorded in 4.2.3, Set (1). When subjectival and preceding a verb or pseudoverb, the LH tones of the disyllabic forms (1st and 2nd p., sg. and pl.) are replaced by LL, but the F tones of the monosyllabic forms (Cl. 1–23) do not undergo tonal replacement.

Examples:

ˋnzé	(I myself)
ˋffé	(we ourselves)
ăbăntù bô	(people, as for them)
ĕntè zô	(cattle, as for them)
ˋnzè ˋnjágálá bítábó, yê ăyágálá bímúlí	(*I* like books, *he* likes flowers)
ˋffè túlìmá bítóóké, bô bálìmá kásóólí	(*We* cultivate bananas, *they* cultivate maize)

4.3.0. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

4.3.1. Ganda has three positional sets of Demonstrative Pronouns which may occur independently as subject or object in a sentence, or appositionally and in concordial agreement with a noun, or inflected, as in Pseudoverbal constructions. When appositional, demonstratives usually follow the nouns to which they refer concordially, but may precede them.

4.3.2. In structure and significance, the following features of the three sets of Demonstratives are noteworthy:

(1) Set (1) expresses "this, these" or "that, those", generally indicating relative proximity to the speaker, but it is often used referentially of something already mentioned. It is composed of three substrate morphemes: A vowel identical with the Initial Vowel of the relevant noun class prefix, a concordial element (C, Cw, or Cy), and the vowel /**-o**/.

(2) Set (2) expresses "this, these", indicating proximity to the speaker. It is composed of two substrate morphemes, a concordial element (V or CV), and the stem /**-no**/.

(3) Set (3) expresses "that, those" or "that yonder, those yonder", indicating relative distance from the speaker. It is composed of two substrate morphemes, a concordial element (V or CV), and the stem /**-li**/.

4.3.3. Table of Demonstratives.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Cl. 1	**ŏyó**	**ŏnó**	**ŏlî**
2	**ăbó**	**bànó**	**bàlî**
3	**ŏgwó**	**gùnó**	**gùlî**
4	**ĕgyó**	**gìnó**	**gìlî**
5	**ĕlyó**	**lìnó**	**lìlî**
6	**ăgó**	**gànó**	**gàlî**
7	**ĕkyó**	**kìnó**	**kìlî**
8	**ĕbyó**	**bìnó**	**bìlî**

9	ẽyó	ẽnó	ẽlî
10	ẽzó	zìnó	zìlì
11	õlwó	lùnó	lùlî
12	ãkó	kànó	kàlî
13	õtwó	tùnó	tùlî
14	õbwó	bùnó	bùlî
15	õkwó	kùnó	kùlî
16	ãwó	wànó	wàlî
17	õkwó	kùnó	kùlî
18	õmwó	mùnó	mùlî
20	õgwó	gùnó	gùlî
22	ãgó	gànó	gàlî
23	ẽyó	ẽnó	ẽlî

4.3.4. *Tonomorphology:* The basic tonomorphemes of the three sets of Demonstratives, as recorded in 4.3.3, are respectively LH, LH and LF. These and their tonal replacements occur as follows:

(*a*) Sets (1) and (2):
- LH — when isolated;
  when appositional and following a noun with terminal H, L or F;
  when independent and following a verb.
- LL — when subjectival (independent or appositional) and preceding a verb or pseudoverb.

(*b*) Set (3):
- LF — when isolated;
  when appositional and following a noun or verb with terminal L or F;
  when subjectival (independent) and preceding a verb or pseudoverb.
- HF — when appositional or independent and following a noun or verb with terminal H.

Examples:

õgwó	(that one—Cl. 3)
kìnó	(this one—Cl. 7)
õmùwáfù õgwó	(that incense tree)
ẽkítábó kìnó	(this book)
ꜜnjágálá kìnó	(I like this one)
ãbálẽnzí bànò bàwãnvù	(These boys are tall)
bànò bàwãnvù	(These are tall)
zìlî	(those yonder—Cl. 10)
ẽnkókò zìlî	(those chickens)
zìlî ꜜnnűngì	(those are good)
ẽnté zílî	(those cattle)
ꜜnjágálá zílî	(I like those)

4.4.0. DEMONSTRATIVE PSEUDOVERBS.

4.4.1. The four series of Demonstrative Pseudoverbs are listed here purely as a matter of convenience. While structurally based on the Demonstrative Pronouns, they are themselves not pronouns, but predicative forms. Each of these four series of Demonstrative Pseudoverbs has three positional sets.

4.4.2. The first series expresses demonstrative-predicative significances as follows:

(1) *That's* it, *That's* the one, It's *that* one; *Those* are they, *Those* are the ones, It's *those*.
(2) *This* is it, *This* is the one, It's *this* one; *These* are they, *These* are the ones, It's *these*.
(3) *That's* it (yonder), *That's* the one, It's *that* one; *Those* are they (yonder), *Those* are the ones, It's *those*.

Table of forms:

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Cl. 1	yòòyó	yòònó	yòòlí
2	bèèbó	bèèbànó	bèèbàlí
3	gwõgwó ≃ gwẽgwó	gwẽgùnó	gwẽgùlí
4	gyẽgyó	gyẽginó	gyẽgilí
5	lyẽlyó	lyẽlinó	lyẽlilí
6	gèègó	gèègánó	gèègàlí
7	kyẽkyó	kyẽkìnó	kyẽkilí
8	byẽbyó	byẽbìnó	byẽbilí
9	yèèyó	yèènó	yèèlí
10	zèèzó	zèèzìnó	zèèzilí
11	lwõlwó ≃ lwẽlwó	lwẽlùnó	lwẽlùlí
12	kèèkó	kèèkánó	kèèkàlí
13	twẽtwó	twẽtùnó	twẽtùlí
14	bwẽbwó	bwẽbùnó	bwẽbùlí
15	kwẽkwó	kwẽkùnó	kwẽkùlí
16	wèèwó	wèèwánó	wèèwàlí
17	ǃkwẽkwó	kwẽkùnó	kwẽkùlí
18	mwẽmwó	mwẽmùnó	mwẽmùlí
20	gwẽgwó	gwẽgùnó	gwẽgùlí
22	gèègó	gèègánó	gèègàlí
23	yèèyó	yèènó	yèèlí

4.4.3. The second series expresses demonstrative-predicative significance as follows:

(1) There it is, There they are.
(2) Here it is, Here they are.
(3) There it is (yonder), There they are (yonder).

Table of forms:

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Cl. 1	wúùyó	wúùnó	wúùlí
2	báábó	báábánó	báábàlí
3	gúùgwó	gúúgùnó	gúúgùlí
4	gíigyó	gíígìnó	gíígìlí
5	líilyó	líílìnó	líílìlí
6	gáàgó	gáágánó	gáágàlí
7	kíìkyó	kííkìnó	kííkìlí
8	bíìbyó	bííbìnó	bííbìlí
9	yíìyó	yíínó	yíílí
10	zíízó	zíízìnó	zíízìlí
11	lúùlwó	lúúlùnó	lúúlùlí
12	káákó	káákánó	káákàlí

13	túùtwó	túútùnó	túútùlí
14	búùbwó	búúbùnó	búúbùlí
15	kúùkwó	kúúkùnó	kúúkùlí
16	wáàwó	wáàwànó	wáàwàlí
17	kúùkwó	kúúkùnó	kúúkùlí
18	múùmwó	múúmùnó	múúmùlí
20	gúùgwó	gúúgùnó	gúúgùlí
22	gáàgó	gáágànó	gáágàlí
23	yíìyó	yíìnó	yíìlí

4.4.4. The third series expresses demonstrative-predicative significances as follows:

(1) *There* it is, *There* they are.
(2) *Here* it is, *Here* they are.
(3) *There* it is (yonder), *There* they are (yonder).

Table of forms:

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Cl. 1	yèèwúùyó	yèèwúùnó	yèèwúùlí
2	bèèbáàbó	bèèbáábànó	bèèbáábàlí
3	gwēgúùgwó	gwēgúúgùnó	gwēgúúgùlí
4	gyēgíìgyó	gyēgíígìnó	gyēgíígìlí
5	lyēlíìlyó	lyēlíílìnó	lyēlíílìlí
6	gèègáàgó	gèègáágànó	gèègáágàlí
7	kyēkíìkyó	kyēkííkìnó	kyēkííkìlí
8	byēbíìbyó	byēbííbìnó	byēbííbìlí
9	yèèyíìyó	yèèyíìnó	yèèyíìlí
10	zèèzíìzó	zèèzíízìnó	zèèzíízìlí
11	lwēlúùlwó	lwēlúúlùnó	lwēlúúlùlí
12	kèèkáàkó	kèèkáákànó	kèèkáákàlí
13	twētúùtwó	twētúútùnó	twētúútùlí
14	bwēbúùbwó	bwēbúúbùnó	bwēbúúbùlí
15	kwēkúùkwó	kwēkúúkùnó	kwēkúúkùlí
16	wèèwáàwó	wèèwáàwànó	wèèwáàwàlí
17	kwēkúùkwó	kwēkúúkùnó	kwēkúúkùlí
18	mwēmúùmwó	mwēmúúmùnó	mwēmúúmùlí
20	gwēgúùgwó	gwēgúúgùnó	gwēgúúgùlí
22	gèègáàgó	gèègáágànó	gèègáágàlí
23	yèèyíìyó	yèèyíìnó	yèèyíìlí

4.4.5. The fourth series is identical in substrate form with the third series, but has different tonal forms, thus:

Set (1) : L̲ H̲ F
(2) : L̲ H̲ H F and L H̲ F
(3) : L̲ H̲ H F and L H̲ F

Examples:

Cl. 1	**yèèwúúyô**	**yèèwúúnô**	**yèèwúúlî**
2	**bèèbáábô**	**bèèbáábánô**	**bèèbáábálî**

The significances of this series are:
(1) That's the very one there, Those are the very ones there.
(2) This is the very one here, These are the very ones here.
(3) That's the very one there (yonder), Those are the very ones there (yonder).